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and uncles as well. I am inclined to believe that the words primarily refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives whose children bear the relationship of wanke to the person. A strange point, however, crops up, namely, that the paternal aunts are called atati (atati wakenguse) and their husbands atati again. 601

An elder brother is akulu, his younger brother mpunikwe, a sister nkumbu, nkumbu wamndi and nkumbu wakulungwe, younger and elder sister.

Diseases. Apart from old age, the native recognises in all illness and death the hand of an enemy or the result of transgression of some custom: some one has made medicine against him, or he or some one else has broken a custom founded on superstition which is visited on his head. These ideas are so deeply rooted in the native mind that it is with difficulty any appropriate treatment will be received. They rely, rather, on some medicine-man to cure them by medicine more powerful than that made against them. Even an ordinary accident or an attack of pneumonia is accounted for in this way. 753 754 164

The names given in speaking of sicknesses are, of course, applied rather to symptoms, but in some cases where the symptom named is pathognomic of a disease, the word practically stands for the disease. The word used may imply the supposed cause or refer to a resemblance to some object, or again simply state the part affected; thus chitumbo (the belly) meaning stomach ache, mese (eyes), conjunctivitis, etc.

The following words most of which are found in the Reverend Dr. Hetherwick's *Yao Language*, give some idea of the Yao native's conception of disease. The sense which the above authority gives is not always quite the same as I would venture to give. I shall not enter into the question of the diseases as such but only in so far as they bear on customs, etc.

The word *chilwale* signifies any disease or illness; *chilepe* and *chipindupindu* refer to epidemic diseases; the former refers to a disease of fowls and dogs characterised by wheezing and hence is occasionally used for bronchitis in man. *Chipindupindu* refers to a series of deaths from a cause unknown to the natives. The word *chanda*, which Hetherwick gives as meaning a plague, rather means arrow poison, I think. 164 753 192

Chambolo: a liver disease of fowls.

Chipapa: a congenital deformity of any kind (*kupapwa* = to be born with).

Chilwanisa: a patch of white hair on the scalp of congenital origin.

Chisisani (a cousin): the word used for a birth-mark or freckle; bullosal fistula is also included. Children examine each other to see how many "cousins" each has; anyone with none is made fun of.

Chitubutubumuli (*tubumula* = a big lump): a bunchback.

Chiwuhula (*ku-wuhula* = to split): a "splitting" headache, or more commonly, medicine by means of which the possessor can inflict pain or death.

Chinj'ulung'ulu: a localised pain in the head.

Chipungupungu: giddiness.

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Chibuli: deaf and dumb (Chin); the word is used in slang to mean impotence.
Chiviruku: an old word meaning high fever.
Chilwalukuku: "*walumpwe wamile chilwalukuku*," the woman died in confinement without giving birth (interpreted). The sense of dumbness and constipation are secondary.
Kukhikwa: constipation.
Malwalungali: colic; *Mlungu*, rumblings in the bowels, borborygmi.
Mwalindili: " pins and needles."
Chikwa: sore and swollen gums, pyorrhoea; has been translated scurvy.
Chinguvukukuta: hardened skin, like a corn on the hand.
Njauka: without eye-lashes, as result of disease.
Ndandapasi, Lunguvikisi: indistinctness of vision (Hetherwick).
Lusuo: watering of the nose; nasal catarrh.
Mambuka: the secretion at the corners of the eyes in the morning, also the purulent secretion of conjunctivitis (Hetherwick translates " watering of the eyes ").
Nasila: nasal mucus.
Chimbandapala: crusts from the nasal passages (Hetherwick translates merely " nasal mucus ").
Likwamula: cough.
Chiwapupa: after-pains of labor.
Npeikasi: hiccough.
Ny'anang'ana: nystagmus, from a verb meaning "to look from side to side anxiously."
Iwanga: any skin eruption supposed to be due to eating various substances, chiefly meat.
Ku-hilimuka: to have a rash on the body of the nature of urticaria.
Npalakala: the name of a condition in which the place where a man passes water becomes whitened; hence it refers to cystitis, lithuria, etc.
Chikwakwa (*likwakwa* = a snail): the white on the ground resembling a snail track left by a man with *Npalakala*.
Ndwasi or Mlili: smallpox.
Ndwapala or Kasakala: chicken pox; this term may also include other diseases with similar rash, i.e. modified smallpox and pemphigus.
Chilwaka (*ulwaka* = an elephant): elephantiasis.
Matenda: leprosy.
Mapwenpwete: yaws (*shimatili*, given by Hetherwick as "rodent ulcer," is a Chinyanja word for yaws).
Chindaka: (Swahili) syphilis.
Chimenene: (Swahili) gonorrhoea.
Lukukilashi: whooping-cough.
Chikuku: measles.

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Mlwewe: anthrax.
Chichinda (*ku-chinda* = to scrape out): diarrhœa, dysentery.
Chipanga (*ukanga* = warding): swelling at angles of jaws, mumps.
Liwulilo: nasal or bronchial catarrh.
Mwanko: insanity; mwapwapwa, delirium of fever (Hetherwick translates as *pateulia madness*).
Mbuka: anthrax.
Likhwanio: goitre (*likhtile*: *pwanio ukuwa*).
Nakwamulo: bronchocœle of hands and feet.
Chinwapwale: a pustule.
Chiwombolelo: a boil.
Chilonga (*ngonga* = the spotted guinea-fowl): ring-worm of face.
Liwawa: any mark on the skin, e.g. birthmark, pigmented spot, ring-worm, scar.
Ikuwawa: a wart.
Nkwadi: a burn of the skin.
Lipulawa: a keloid scar (Hetherwick gives "boil").
Lwapa: a rash after shaving.
Libuku: a blister.
Chipulawa: a wheal after a blow or an insect bite.
Chilipa: oedema of a limb.
Chipupu: whitlow.
Lipulo: an abscess; wawa, pus.
Lilimbapo: an abscess; (*ku-mba*: to swell).
Liwanga: a sore or ulcer.
Mlwangwanga: a chronic ulcer.
Linkuhila (*ku-upula* = to come to life again): an ulcer which heals and then breaks out again.
Lilimbukipo: secondary enlarged glands in groin or elsewhere from a sore on the foot, etc.
Nkoni: Any lowly movable lump under the skin, e.g. sebaceous cyst, pustule, ganglion, etc.
Chikoni (*ku-kona* = to bite): abscess-tion.
Upwa: itch, scabies.
Tiwala mkamwa: thrush.
Lwanga: diarrhœa in infants with green stools.
Lukwawo: passage of blood in urine; Urinary Bilharziasis.
Ny'ala: ulcer or leprosus of cornea.
Ching'ang'a: rabies in dogs.
Linkhini: round-worm of man.

.3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

164 *Mangungulusi:* round-worm of dogs or found in the ground.
753 *Walumpwe wajumu:* a barren woman (lit. dry).
Chiumpulu: sterility in the male.
192 *Chipumpulu or pyo:* an impotent man or *Mundu jwa tpyo:* a useless man!
Mpuli: impotent.
Mchesu (*lu-chesa* = to cut off): a "cut man"; a man soon after he has been castrated.
Mtenge: a eunuch after he has become fat.
Nambondiro (sublimissimi Chin.): the word is derived from *kubonda*, to mistreate. Natives say that when disturbed, the insect of this name which is a locustid, *Bradilepsis durandi*, makes water which falling on the skin of the passer-by causes ulceration. I have seen a variety of cases of extensive ulceration due to syphilis, etc., assigned to the effects of this insect; I have, however, shown that it does secrete a corroding fluid from pores at the sides of the body which dropped on to the skin will dissolve the superficial layers of the epidermis and should such abrasions become infected, ulceration may, of course, result.
Utendwe: tremor, similar to the movements of one of the wasps.
Manjenje: tremor of old age, *paralysis agitans.*

164 The preceding short list of words will give some idea of the richness of the language in
192 some directions and also its limitations. There now follows an account of diseases which are
753 based on superstition, generally connected with the idea of uncleanness or the transgression
688 of some rule of life. Whatever the symptoms, if there has been a transgression, the disease is labelled with the name of the disease supposed to follow the act. Similar diseases are to be remarked among the other tribes in the country; some of those relating to the Anyanja I have already mentioned,[1] and the following may be read as an amplification of the remarks previously made.

Chinguru (*Fungwa* Chin.) from *kunga*, to defecate: At the birth of a child, if the contents of the bowel (meconium) are passed before the body is born (as often happens in breech presentations), the child is said to be "born with disease." One of the women attending the confinement will always go out and inform the husband of what has happened, saying, "*Apali 'chenene*," (it is born well) or "*Apali ni chilondo*," (it is born with disease). This only refers to the passage of meconium and not to any antenatal disease.

When this significant event has happened, the husband may not occupy the same sleeping mat as his wife and have intercourse with her until the child of its own accord crawls from the mother's sleeping mat to that of her husband on the other side of the hut; *Kupilisya mwanake ku mpepe* (*Ku-pilisa mwana ku mpepe*, Chin.) = "to go the child to the mat." Should the husband disregard this custom, he will sicken with *Chinguru*. The symptoms commonly ascribed to *Chinguru* are pain in the loins and in the hypogastrium.

[1] "Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa," op. cit.

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This has led to the word being translated as Bright's disease (Rutherwick). No symptoms referable to the peritonitis are included under this disease. *M'uwo* (Chin. *Kapundu*): hydrocele; said to be another sequela. A woman called by the excitement of her infant after birth is not considered unclean and intercourse will have no ill result to the husband. Sometimes in the event of *Apali ni chilonde*, recourse is had to the practice of intercourse between the woman and some other man. She is thus rendered "clean" and the man who is not her husband will not sicken. Such a man is called *Lilowa* (see Widowhood).

Lowoo: a disease similar to *Chiwewe*, which inflicts a man having coitus with his wife who has not been cleansed after abortion.

Kwisimula: a practice indulged in if a new-born child falls ill; the word refers to the "hardening" of pots when they are being made and the same idea is applied to the child. If the new-born child gets fever, the illness is ascribed to the *nsumuzio mpitilowoo* about the vulva of the mother. These are cut off by an old medicine-woman and the blood allowed to drop into a mortar; water and some leaves are added and pounded together, and the mother seated only in a cloth reaching to the loins, washes her breasts with the liquid while the baby is supported on one thigh; the child is then given the breast and the mother, turning her back on the mortar, pushes it over backwards with her buttocks.

Ta njala (from salt; Chin., *dze mchere*): If a woman who, after the death of a child, has not been cleansed by medicine, adds salt to her husband's food, he eating it will sicken.

Tsempe (a Chinyanja word): If a man or a woman commits adultery and any member of the family falls ill, the natives say the illness is due to the unlawful act; the sinner is said "to have gone in front of the other"; *kutsempenda* (*utsempendowa*, Chin.), "he has gone in front of," from *ku-penda* and *ku-pendowa*, to go in front of, or *ku-utsopha* (Chin.), to go *slyly* in front of. Hence the word *tsempe* which also is used loosely for *dze mchere*. If a child who according to custom has gone to stay with the grandmother, returns to the parents' house and the parents continue to have sexual intercourse, the child may sicken; it is said that the house is "hot" for the child and its disease may be called *tsempe*. Or if a child which has been weaned is again given the breast after the mother has resumed cohabitation with her husband, it may sicken with *tsempe*. And the husband is called *kutsempenda*.

A child which is suckled after menstruation is reestablished, is not affected by any untoward symptoms.

In the event of a woman dying in childbirth, if it so happens the husband has committed adultery, he is held responsible for the death and her relatives claim very heavy compensation.

Ku-simumiloo, to be met with (*ku-kumanidwa*, Chin.): If the act of coitus causes the onset of menstruation and the husband cannot draw back in time to prevent himself being contaminated, he will sicken, and he is said "to have met with (it)" when returning to his illness. In this disease, the penis is said to withdraw into the bladder. Rest from the roof

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of the hut, *ulenjikilo*, and the red part of the flower of the banana, *ibulilimo* on account of its shape, are used as medicine for this disease.

Kwinkuapuna or Nikoko: If a man dies and his relatives eat of the food-stuffs left by him, such as corn from his grain-store, before they have been cleansed by medicine, they will sicken with *nikoko*, the symptoms being anaemia and wasting. The word *kwinoko nikoko* is also used for sickness due to partaking of food cooked by an unfaithful wife.

Chipuzio is a word used by both Yao and Anyanja to denote a disease which a man contracts from adulterous intercourse. Scott[1] derives the word from *ku-puta*, to stink to; the woman is so influenced by medicine made by her husband that should any man have adulterous intercourse with her, the disease will "stink" to him, while it will not affect the woman herself nor her own husband. Both the disease and the medicine made to cause the disease are known as *Chipuzio*. Secondarily, the word has come to be used for any disease which may be gained by sexual intercourse and is sometimes used as a general term for venereal disease.

Chipuzio cha chipula (*chipula*, a knife): A man who is going away from home obtains medicine and dresses his knife with it. As he leaves his house to go on his journey, he pretends just to remember his knife and calls for it. His wife brings it to him and it is put into its sheath; he then goes out and sticks it in the grass of the roof of the house. The medicine is made from the tail of a dog, an animal in which coitus is prolonged and the two animals cannot separate. Should the wife commit adultery, it is supposed that just as the knife was unsheathed and destroyed with dog medicine, so the adulterous pair will remain fixed in coitu and be found out. This may be called *chipuzio cha kutega* (*kutega* = to set a trap).

The Anyanja make medicine with the same idea, *chipuzio cha kuchera* (*ku-chera*, to set a trap, Chin.); medicine is put round the house and any man entering the medicine and committing adultery with the wife will be trapped. In all cases, the man will become ill.

Chipuzio cha mimi, *mimi*, blood (*mwazi*, Chin.); disease caused by intercourse with a menstruating woman. Blood is passed in the urine.

Chipuzio cha mmo, *mmo*, pus (*mafinga*, Chin.): gonorrhoea gonorrhoea.

Chipuzio cha kimji, *kimji*, cotton (*imaja*, Chin.): the discharge from the urethra resembles a thread of cotton; it is supposed that this thread can be pulled out endlessly.

Chipuzio cha sekuchi, *sekuchi*, the white ants (*chiswa*, Chin.): so called when a man passes whitish-yellow debris in the urine. It is supposed that when he has finished passing water, white ants rush up the penis and enter the bladder, thus causing the pain which characterises this affection. The origin of the idea lies in the fact that if one sprinkles water on subterranean white ant burrows, the ants will come to the surface of the ground in numbers and make a rustling sound.

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[1] D. C. Scott, *A syllabaric dictionary of the Mang'anja language*, *op. cit.*

Other hypothetical diseases which are caused by disbelief or custom are mentioned under various other headings. *Kanjo*: a disease generally characterized by ulceration of the legs but in some cases by pains in the back, or loosely used for a variety of symptoms. It is said to be caused by the entry into the body of a worm which lives in water-pools. This worm which I have had identified is a gordius worm and not known to be parasitic in man. *Lanzi*: When a man kills another in battle, he will sit upon the belly of his victim; otherwise he believes he will sicken with lanzi and his own belly will swell up like that of the corpse when putrefaction sets in. He is supposed also to hunger after more killing and blood. *Lihonge* is the name of a supposed disease which kills off one child after another in a family when they are about six months old. Congenital syphilis naturally suggests itself but I have never been able to verify this idea. *Lihonge ipe hutsie*: a supposed disease which causes the death of the first child when the second is born, the second when the third is born and so on, whatever the intervals between the births. Each child is said to push (*ha-tsie*) the previous one out of this world. Under these circumstances the disease is ascribed to something wrong with the mother or father and they are examined by a medicine-woman or medicine-man, and any sarcocèles or an external pile found will be cut away.

If a snake inflicts two bites, the man will prove fatal. If a crocodile emits a groaning sound when seizing its victim, though he escapes he will certainly die.

Treatment of diseases. Of surgical treatment there is very little to be noted. Nothing in the way of operation is performed with the exception of circumcision (see *Legends*).

An abscess is allowed to burst, the smallest tumor is left untouched, but accessory digits which are not sure, attached only by a fine pedicle, are snipped off.

The natives cannot extract teeth. They are incapable of rendering any assistance in cases of difficult labor. Dislocations are not recognized as such, but fractures are treated by the application of wooden sticks placed at intervals round the circumference of the limb parallel to it and held in position by twisted pieces of bark string (Pl. XXII, fig. 2). The principle of the tourniquet appears to be unknown.

The only instruments used consist of a small knife for incision, a cupping-horn, and a primitive form of funnel for administering enemata (Pl. XXII, figs. 1, 3, 4). The knife has a triangular blade with a stem which is commonly twisted at one of the corners. The knife is used for vein-cupping, tattooing, and circumcision (Pl. XXII, fig. 5). The cupping-horn is a small horn of a calf. The spot is pierced and after application to the part, suction is made with the mouth and then the hole sealed by working a piece of humerus over it with the tongue. Six small incisions are made in the skin for the withdrawal of the blood. The cupping-horn is called *akoré* (*akoreke*, Chin.). Cupping is used for headache and for pain in the chest and back. The enema funnel, *shipitje* (*sitsikiri*, Chin.) is made from the cork of a gourd to which is attached a hollow stem for introduction into the anus. Half a pint of an infusion of *mongoio* is injected for constipation associated with pain.

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48. *Gwero kwalo ndichuta!*
Lying on the rush, best!

This is a slang expression which in full would read, "It is nice and warm lying on a rush in the sun, but it is not so comfortable as being in bed in company with your wife; you can go on waiting but you won't get anything." This might even be said to a dog, watching as a dog will, every morsel of food lifted to its master's mouth.

49. *Kulapikila nsusi pa mkasi!*
To have hopes of water for nuggets!

It is a custom before lying down to sleep on the floor mat, to take it up and pour boiling water on the earth floor to kill any blood-sucking nuggets (Congo flea-nugget, *Sarcopsylla penetrans*). If you see a pot cooking on the fire, you naturally think there is food being prepared but you may be disappointed; it may only be the pot for heating the water to kill the nuggets. The saying is then used to a man who has made an assignation and is disappointed but goes on waiting. [513] [761]

50. *Kukuma ngwa!*
To bite underneath-like!

The cockroach is described by natives as going up to what it will eat, remaining quiet for some moments, and then suddenly taking a bite. This is said of a man who comes up to you smiling and then hits you a hard blow. [825]

Among the Yao as among other tribes that I have previously mentioned,[1] signs of salutation to a superior are made by clapping the hands or patting the breast or buttock with one hand, at the same time crouching down. A woman will go off the path and kneel, looking away from a superior passing along the roadway. 576

A person going by the door of a hut where others are sitting, will say "*Kwatunga kuno!* At the door here." Passing behind anyone, he will say "*Kwapa*" *mo!* At the back!" Meeting anyone on a path, a man will simply say, "*John, bure,*" adding perhaps, "*Kwakala!* all is well!" A *chief* or headman on returning to his village after a journey, is greeted by the women with trilling of the tongue (*Ku-lulula*). [301]

Man and wife do not greet each other in the morning. The wife rises first and draws water and places it in the hut for the husband's use but nothing may be said.

When a visitor is entertained and a chicken cooked for a repast, the "pope's nose" is always for the visitor. The right hand only is used in dipping into the common pot. A man of small importance, though replete, will go on making pretence of eating at a common meal by taking very small amounts so that his superior shall finish first, and rise and go away before him.

I may here add the words used by the Yao for the sounds made by various animals; they are interesting to compare with those of other languages: 10.

[1] "Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa," op. cit., p. 180-181.

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The dog	*mwe mwi!* (as in bush).
The cat	*ngwi!*
The cock	*kukilikiko!*
The lion	*ku ku ku!*
The duck	*kwa kwa kwa!*
The cow	*mwi!*
The sheep	*kwi!* (as in kitten).
The goat	*mbi!*
The dove	*mu mu!*
The lion	*ng'wungu'u!*

195 578 Among the Yao, abuse and obscene language are rare; expressions which appear in other languages all the world over are only used on great provocation and commonly with dire results. This, too, is opposed to the ways of neighboring tribes, the Anyanja and Angoni, who freely make use of such expressions as "*Ngini* go suaka!" and "*Ninga* ua suka!" "The pudenda of your mother! Clitoris of your mother!"

The following exclamations of abuse and expressions of obscenity will be seen to follow very closely upon those in other countries.

1. *Mwisishanu!* (to a girl or woman), *mbolele!* (to a boy or man) means you are a person who has not been to your *Unyago*, and therefore "you are without manners!"

2. *Mwana mkongwi!* an expression to a child meaning "you little weasel," "you nasty little thing!"

3. *Akalila kwi kpusi!* he eats with the back of his hand, he is uncircumcised, i.e. "he is a dirty person!"

4. A man with big ears is hailed "look at your ears like a lemur!" (*Likondo*, a lemur).

A Yao woman seldom or never swears at or uses bad language to a man nor the converse; the woman, however, is not behindhand in the art of bitter complaining and nagging.

[209] Pulling down the lower eyelid with the finger accompanying some exclamation has exactly the same significance as in European countries, "I am not so green as I look!"

Ku-ompa is to make a sound like "pish" with the mouth, and is a great insult, for which a man will fight.

Screwing of the lips to one side as in the action to get rid of the sour skin of a fruit, *ku-mun'g'unya* is an expression of contemptuous disgust.

695 539 The similarity to European ways is again seen in swearing or taking oath. A Yao swears by the spirits of his ancestors or by a child:

"*Chiriri cha Malungwi!*"
"(By) the graves of Malungwi!"

or he may indirectly name some ancestor:

"*Nyakambila kpungu!*" or "*Nyakambila kaindwi!*"
"I swear by the spear!" "I swear by the lion!"

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wrestle thus: each man passes his right arm round his opponent's waist and grips his opponent's left wrist. When one has thrown the other, the victor spits on his hand, dips it in the dust and then anoints his victim on the forehead.

The boys practise long jumping. Small boys make miniature bows and arrows, spears, etc., to play with; in their ways and toilet small children resemble European children exactly. Little girls play at dolls—they cut cucumbers into shape and dress them in calico cloth, carrying them on their backs and making gestures to suckle them.

The first words spoken by an infant are *ma* (*mwai*=mother) and *ta* (*tatai*=father); at two years *mama* and *tata* are words used; a word soon learnt is *tatau* "No! I don't want to."

The only sitting I ever heard of occurred when my two Machila men were acting a village scene, in which a woman (a man dressed up) while pounding corn was seized and raped by another man. At the right moment her husband and others rushed in and collared the man, who was condemned to have his head cut off; the execution followed.

Dances.

The following is a list of dances; opposite each is the name of the tribe who dance it:—

1. *Chinfimbo*, Yao.	13. *Litiwo*, Yao.
2. *Libwala*, Yao.	14. *Mjindo*, Yao.
3. *Mabo*, Yao.	15. *Nakwa*, Yao.
4. *Mahiwasi*, Mahenje.	16. *Nangle*, Yao.
5. *Mangle*, Mahenje.	17. *Nkondi*, Yao.
6. *Pimbamdewe*, Mahenje.	18. *Ukhondi*, Yao.
7. *Mwawo*, Mahenje.	19. *Mlawao*, Yao.
8. *Kwampwe*, Mahenje.	20. *Mnyangali*.
9. *Mlando*, Mahenje.	21. *Sangi*.
10. *Chikwi*.	22. *Chiwawinyisi*.
11. *Vingwe*, Mahenje.	23. *Mawere*, Mahenje and Yao.
12. *Wiwi*, Mahenje.	24. *Mwaiwalala*, Yao.

1. *Chinfimbo.*—Danced at the *malele* (mourning ceremony) generally inside the house unless a very large number of people are present.

All sit round and clap while one after the other man and woman get up and dance in a rocking motion from one foot to the other, a small drum held against the chest; in former times a large one lying on the ground used also to be used—now two or three, standing on legs, are employed. When danced in the dead man's house, the body lies at one end of the room with the *Akhondi* sitting by it. On one side are the women, and on the other the dancers, the dance being sometimes started immediately after death, sometimes the following morning and continued for three days.

This dance is also performed at almost any beer drinking.

adzale, a woman who is pregnant for the first time; *Awendere*, a woman who has one or two children; *ajinakere*, a woman who has three or four children, and lastly, *adzalere*, a woman who is past child-bearing age.

The information which I have been able to collect on abortifacients and contraceptives suggests that they are not used by married people merely to prevent their having more children, but that they are used by people who wish to avoid pregnancies which would be embarrassing, for example, by a woman whose husband is a labour migrant. To what extent the abortifacients and contraceptives are effectives I cannot say; some, I know for certain, rely on a magical principle, for example, the medicated cord worn by a man during intercourse. On the other hand, the abortifacients taken orally may have some active ingredients.

A barren woman or an impotent man is regarded with some embarrassment and the marriage ceremonies (*ainamagawe*) of a childless couple will go to considerable trouble and expense consulting diviners and healers in an attempt to make their wards productive. Childless couples are regarded as not fully adult and are treated in a patronizing way by those who have borne children. Since a man may marry other wives, barrenness in a woman is a cause of sorrow to her husband, but is not in itself a ground for divorce. Where the man is impotent, however, the woman may divorce him on this ground, though she usually takes a paramour and forces her husband to an action for damages which automatically leads to a divorce because it is the usual practice in these cases for the court to ask the woman if she wants to be divorced from her husband.

In contrast to the satisfaction shown at the birth of a child is the sense of sorrow evinced when a child is still-born or the woman miscarries. The Yao do not distinguish between still-births and abortions, both events being known by the word *kwenenga*. This is a verb and refers to the process of abortion; there is no term for the dead foetus itself. I made no attempt to enumerate miscarriages and still-births because they are supposed to be due to breaches of sexual taboos on the part of the husband and wife, and interviewees were naturally reluctant to mention them. Miscarriages and still-births are greatly feared, and the woman is considered to be in a very dangerous condition until she and her husband have carried out a ritual purification. Should a man have intercourse with a woman who has miscarried and not yet been purified he will contract a disease called *kwere* which is believed to be invariably fatal. Still-born children or aborted foetuses are buried in a hole dug with sharpened sticks in the bush by the women, whereas children who are born alive and die afterwards are buried in the graveyard in graves dug by men with hoes. The burial spots of still-born babies or aborted foetuses are marked with a stone or broken pottery, since it is believed that to step on them will induce an illness.

The concern of the immediate kin-groups is shown in the child-birth procedure. Birth normally takes place in a hut in the presence of the older female relatives of the woman and the female representatives of the man. The husband's representatives are necessary because the Yao, like many other Central African peoples, believe that an adulterine child will not be born to the woman unless she confesses (*kupusa*) the name of the genitor. If she persists in concealing the identity of the genitor, they

* *adzale* = elephant, heavy load. The same title and *adzale* have both refer to the heavy loads traditionally worn by the women in the pregnancy initiation ceremony.

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with the dead. He approaches the shrine, opens the gate of the fence, takes a pinch of beer and pours it into the pot at the head of the grave. Next he places the basket of porridge and the plate of meat on the mound beside it and retires. Kneeling down outside the gate facing the shrine and a few yards in front of the people he shouts his prayer in a monotone, each petition commencing with "Chisale, chisale," "Please, please." All the while the people clap their hands in unison with him and sing the responses as they do in a native case in the chief's court.

When the offering has been made at this grave, the rest of the beer or other food is consumed by the worshippers. Grass are fired as a token of respect to the dead, and the rest of the day is spent in dancing.

Such shrines are to be seen in almost every Yao village where the inhabitants have been located for any length of time. They are regarded with awe—the little boys as they pass whisper to each other in a warning tone, "mzimba." Should the village be moved to any other district, the old shrine is not forgotten. Periodical visits are made to it with the usual offerings. In cases where the old home has been occupied by a people hostile to the old inhabitants, such visits are usually made during the night, and the people awake in the morning to find that the old chief's grave in their midst has been newly repaired, and a fresh offering of food placed on its head.

Sometimes such shrines are found on the mountain of hills which once may have been a refuge from the enemy in time of war, but which now lie lone and deserted. Thither in their need the people make their way with their offering of food and beer, and their prayer for rain or suitable weather for the crops. Near Mlanjeta such shrines are to be seen on the tops of Mount Sochi and Mount Michiru. The former is the abode of the spirit of Kankhomba, and the latter of Mpelula, both old Maseri or Mang'anja chiefs who doubtless died there seeking safety from the war of the invading Yaos, and died leaving their wraiths to be the mulungu or spirit of the mountain. Some years ago, during the time of an Angoni invasion, the Yaos of Mount Sochi fled to the hill-top for refuge, and there the old chief Kapasi died. He was buried close to the grave of the old Kankhomba, and now, when the Yaos on Sochi make an offering, it is to the spirit of Kapasi that the homage is paid, and the shrine of Kankhomba lies neglected.

Only the graves of chiefs or headmen are thus treated as shrines of worship. The burying place of slaves and the common people lies away in the thick bush, where only the rank grass or the thicket of old trees marks the spot. No offerings are ever taken there, for such as are buried there can have no influence in the spirit world. The dead are buried, the broken pot or basket is left on the grave to mark the spot, and none ever seek to go there save to lay another in the same neglected ground.

II. But the word mulungu is used by the Yao with a wider application. Etymologically the word is connected with the root kulungama, which in so many of the other branches of the Bantu tongue appears as kulu or kuru, and signifies "great" or "old." It is the same form which appears in the Kafir word for God, Ulu-

7: Hetherwick M-S (ca. 1900) 1902 FT7 Yao FT7

Unkulunkulu, which may therefore be rendered as "The old, old One," or "The great, great One." A like rendering may be given of the Yao form *mulungu*, the "Old One," or the "Great One." In this or a modified form *mwungu* (Swahili) it appears in all the Eastern group of the Bantu tongues as the equivalent for "God" (see Father Torrend's *Comparative Grammar of South African Bantu Languages*). To trace it as Father Torrend does to any connection with *Moloch*, the god of the Phœnicians, is to attach undue weight to a chance coincidence of sounds.

As we have already seen, the word *mulungu* is applied to the human *limbo* when regarded as an object of worship, or as an inhabitant of the spirit world. But it is also used to denote that spirit world in general, or more properly speaking, *the aggregate of the spirits of all the dead*. The plural form of the word is rarely heard, unless when the allusion is made to the souls in their individualities. In its native use and form the word does not imply personality, for it does not belong to the personal class of nouns. Etymologically it is classed with the leg, heart, arm, hand, etc., of the human frame. Its form denotes rather a state or property inhering in something, as the life or health inhering in the body. Among the various tribes where the word is in use as we have described, the missionaries have adopted it as the term for "God." But the untaught Yao refuses to assign to it any idea of being or personality. It is to him more a quality or faculty of the human nature whose signification he has extended so as to embrace the whole spirit world. Once after I had endeavoured to impress an old Yao headman with the personality of the Godhead in the Christian sense of the term, using the term *Mulungu*, my listener began to talk of "Che Mulungu," "Mr. God," showing that originally to him the word conveyed no idea of the personality I was ascribing to it.

And yet the Yao approaches closely to the idea of personality and a personal being, when he speaks of what *mulungu* has done and is doing. It is *mulungu* who made the world, and men, and animals. Far in the interior of the continent, toward the north-west, beyond the plains and swamps of the Lomgwe River and Lake Bangweulu, there lies, in Yao legend, an island in the midst of a lake called Kapitilonga. On that island there is to be seen a large flat rock marked by the footprints of men and animals of all kinds. When that rock was once a heap of moist clay, *mulungu* created all living things and sent them across the soft mass, where their footprints remained to afterwards hardened into the imperishable rock. Such is the Yao legend of the creation of the world, and *mulungu* is always *the Great Creator*.

Mulungu is also regarded as the agent in anything mysterious. "It's *mulungu*," is the Yao exclamation on being shown anything that is beyond the range of his understanding. The rainbow is always "*mulungu*," although some Yaos have begun to use the Mang'anja term "*utta wa Lesa*," bow of Lesa.

Offerings are made to the spirit world or to *mulungu* as the great agency in the affairs of human life. Outside the village, or beside the headman's hut, may often be seen a rough shed. In this are placed the first-fruits of the new crop,